

## Message Text

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PAGE 01 USUN N 01504 01 OF 02 122215Z  
ACTION IO-13

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00  
CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00  
INRE-00 PM-04 H-01 INR-07 L-03 NSC-05 PA-01  
PRS-01 SP-02 SS-15 /098 W  
-----122230Z 075867 /15

O 122134Z MAY 77

FM USMISSION USUN NEW YORK  
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 3592  
INFO AMEMBASSY BONN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LISBON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY LONDON IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MAPUTO IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY OTTAWA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PARIS IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY PRETORIA IMMEDIATE  
AMCONSUL CAPE TOWN IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY ACCRA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY MONROVIA IMMEDIATE  
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 USUN 1504

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

ACCRA AND MONROVIA FOR AMBASSADOR YOUNG

TEHRAN FOR THE SECRETARY'S PARTY

E.O. 11652: GDS  
TAGS: PFOR, US, UN, WA, SF  
SUBJECT: MAPUTO CONFERENCE - FIVE POWER AGREEMENT ON  
APPROACH TO MAPUTO

REF: (A) STATE 106155 TOSEC 040146  
(B) USUN 1491 (C) USUN 1494 (D) ABIDJAN 4763  
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SUMMARY: AS OTHER NEW YORK PARTICIPANTS DEPART FOR MAPUTO,  
WE SUMMARIZE THE MOOD OF UNITY THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED FINAL  
CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE WESTERN FIVE AND HIGHLIGHT PRIMARY  
GUIDELINES FOR THE APPROACH OF THE FIVE TO MAPUTO. END SUMMARY.

1. NEW YORK PARTICIPANTS IN THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE MAY 16-

21 ARE DEPARTING NEW YORK THIS WEEK. AMONG THE WESTERN FIVE, UN MISSIONS WE UNDERSTAND UKUN WILL BE REPRESENTED BY AMBASSADOR MURRAY, RICHARDSON AND ALASTAIR RELLIE; CANADA BY VERONE EDELSTEIN; FRANCE BY DUQUE AND FRG BY RANDERMANN.

2. THE LOCAL STAFF-LEVEL WORKING GROUP HAS DECIDED AGAINST THE FEASIBILITY OF PREPARING DETAILED AGREED GUIDELINES FOR THE FIVE IN MAPUTO. INSTEAD THEY HAVE EMPHASIZED THE PRACTICAL NECESSITY OF PLAYING THE CONFERENCE ON THE GROUND, THUS PROTECTING THE TACTICAL FLEXIBILITY OF OUR DELEGATIONS. THEY ALSO STRESS THE CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE OF CLOSE CONSULTATIONS AMONG THE DELEGATIONS TO PREVENT SURPRISES AND MAXIMIZE OUR FIVE-POWER PRESENCE. CONCERNING THE LAST POINT, WE OF COURSE AGREED THAT WE SHOULD ALL STAY IN TOUCH, BUT WE EMPHASIZED THE INDIVIDUAL ROLE INEVITABLY FALLING TO AMBASSADOR YOUNG.

3. THE NEW YORK GROUP WOUND UP ITS CONSULTATIONS WITH UNANIMOUS CONFIDENCE THAT OUR DELEGATIONS HAVE BEEN PROVIDED CLEAR GENERAL GUIDELINES FOR THEIR CONDUCT AT THE CONFERENCE. THE FRG INSTINCT FOR CLOSE, DETAILED COORDINATION OF NATIONAL STATEMENTS AND A FIVE-POWER DECLARATION TO BE PRESENTED AT MAPUTO INITIALLY RECEIVED SOME SUPPORT FROM THE UK AND FRANCE, APPARENTLY ON INSTRUCTIONS. AFTER THOROUGH DISCUSSION OF THIS OPTION, HOWEVER, ALL FIVE AGREED THAT THE PRACTICAL LACK OF TIME FOR COORDINATION OF GUIDELINES OR DECLARATION, THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE TACTICAL SITUATION AT MAPUTO, AND THE CLOSE HARMONY OF ALLIES VIEWS DEVELOPED OVER RECENT MONTHS OF DISCUSSION AND NEGOTIATION WERE

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PERSUASIVE REASONS THAT WE SHOULD RELY INSTEAD ON CONSTANT CONSULTATIVE EXCHANGES AT MAPUTO TO PRESENT TO AFRICANS THE DESIRED IMPRESSION OF UNITY AND WESTERN WILL TO ACT.

4. ON SPECIFIC ISSUES, ALL AGREED:

(A) WE SHOULD FOLLOW THE BRITISH LEAD ON RHODESIA, AS OUTLINED IN UK PAPER TRANSMITTED REF (C).

(B) ON NAMIBIA WE SHOULD BE LEERY OF UNNECESSARILY EXPOSING VERBIAGE AND SUBSTANTIVE DETAIL ABOUT THE FIVE-POWER TALKS WITH THE SAG OR OTHERS. THE THREE BROAD POINTS SUGGESTED BY THE FRENCH IN PARA 3 REF (B) STRUCK US ABOUT RIGHT FOR CONFERENCE INTERVENTIONS. ADDITIONALLY, OF COURSE, ALL FIVE SHOULD BE PREPARED IN CORRIDOR CONVERSATIONS TO DRAW ON AGREED TALKING POINTS USED IN BRIEFING OTHER INTERESTED PARTIES DURING THE PAST WEEK (USUN 1375/NOTAL).

(C) CONCERNING THE GENERAL MESSAGE OF WESTERN FIVE  
UNITY AND WILL TO ACT, WE AGREED THAT THE WESTERN DECLARA-  
TION DRAFT WORKED OUT IN NEW YORK PROVIDES ADDITIONAL  
GUIDANCE AND TALKING POINTS. THERE WAS NO AGREEMENT ABOUT  
PUBLICATION OR OTHER USE OF THE TEXT AS A WHOLE, PRIN-  
CIPALLY BECAUSE OF UK RESERVATIONS ABOUT PARAS 14 AND 16,  
EXCEPT WITHIN THE NEGOTIATING CONTEXT WITH THE AFRICAN  
GROUP HERE IN NEW YORK.

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ARA-06 EA-07 EUR-12 NEA-10 ISO-00

CIAE-00 DODE-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 SSO-00 USIE-00

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 USUN 1504

CAPE TOWN FOR EMBASSY

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(D) CONCERNING THE LIKELY REQUIREMENT FOR THE FIVE  
TO DISSOCIATE THEMSELVES FROM EVENTUAL MAPUTO DOCUMENTS,  
THE UK (AMBASSADOR RICHARD PERSONALLY LEADING THE ARGUMENT)

IN ONE MEETING PRESSED FOR AGREEMENT THAT THE FIVE SHOULD SEEK TO FORCE A VOTE IN THE CONFERENCE, IN ORDER TO MAKE CRYSTAL CLEAR THE OBJECTIONS OF THE ALLIES TO EXPECTED RADICAL FORMULATIONS. CANADA, SUPPORTED STRONGLY BY THE US, CONFIDENTIAL

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HOWEVER, ARGUED AGAINST THIS TACTIC, AND AS THE WORKING GROUP CONCLUDED ITS DISCUSSION OF THE MATTER MAY 11 IT WAS UNANIMOUSLY AGREED THAT IT WOULD BE PREMATURE TO ATTEMPT LAYING DOWN FIRM GUIDELINES CONCERNING LIKELY DISSOCIATION FROM EVENTUAL MAPUTO DOCUMENTS. THEY ENVISAGED, HOWEVER, THE POSSIBILITY OF A JOINT STATEMENT BY THE FIVE, IN ADDITION TO NATIONAL STATEMENTS, WHICH COULD STATE BRIEFLY OUR OBJECTIONS TO CONFERENCE DOCUMENTS AND REITERATE OUR VISION OF WHAT WE ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE. CANADA, AS PREVIOUSLY NOTED (REF (B)), SEEMS PARTICULARLY STRONG AGAINST PRIOR COMMITMENT ON DISSOCIATION, BUT IT AGREES WITH OUR PRINCIPLED POSITION ENTIRELY AND ANTICIPATES WORKING FOR COMMON DISSOCIATION WITH THE OTHER FOUR,

(E) ALL AGREED THAT WE SHOULD NOT PERMIT OURSELVES TO BE DRAWN INTO AN IMPLICITLY DEFENSIVE POSTURE THROUGH DETAILED TEXTUAL NEGOTIATIONS ON CONFERENCE DRAFT. WE SHOULD ALL BE WILLING TO SPEAK ABOUT OUR RESERVATIONS AND OBJECTIVES FORTHRIGHTLY, HOWEVER, IN CORRIDOR TALKS AND CONFERENCE SESSIONS AS THE FIVE DEEM IT APPROPRIATE. WE ALSO FORESAW THAT AUSTRALIA, SCANDINAVIANS, SOME NON-ALIGNED AND MODERATE AFRICANS MIGHT BE MOVED TO WORK AGAINST RADICAL FORMULATIONS. YET, ALL AGREED THAT THE FIVE SHOULD RETAIN DISINTEREST IN BARGAINING OVER WORDS.

5. OUR EXCHANGES IN NEW YORK HAVE DEVELOPED A STRONG SENSE OF UNIFIED COMMON PURPOSE. THE FRG IMPULSE, SHARED TO SOME EXTENT BY THE UK AND FRANCE, TO PIN DOWN AGREED JOIN PARLIAMENTARY TACTICS, REFLECTS MORE THEIR CONCERN ABOUT THE UNSTRUCTURED AND UNPREDICTABLE ATMOSPHERE OF THE MAPUTO CONFERENCE THAN ANY LACK OF AGREEMENT ABOUT WHAT THE FIVE CAN AND SHOULD HOPE TO ACHIEVE. WE ALL WERE PERSUDED THAT OUR DELEGATIONS, WORKING CLOSELY IN MAPUTO, HAVE AMPLE AGREEMENT ON PURPOSES AND PITFALLS TO MAKE A STRONG AND EFFECTIVE PRESENTATION OF THE UNIFIED WESTERN POSITION. LEONARD

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## Message Attributes

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Margaret P. Grafeld  
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